2: Stirling--1 [3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 135

"To the misfortune of the Indians, the headwater streams of the Santiago are auriferous This probably first attracted the Incas to their territory and later the Conquistadores, who were not long in locating the source of the precious metal which they found in such abundance in possession of the natives of the highlands of ancient Peru."

2: Stirling--41 [3]
116, 177, 135, 669

(1930-1931) 1938

Jivaro

"The gold in the headwater streams of the Santiago brought the Jivaros in contact with the Spaniards at an early date. During the sixteenth century they apparently did not offer much resistance to the intrusions of the Spaniards, although they were continually fighting among themselves in much the same manner as they do at the present day. It took some time for the Spaniards to establish themselves as natural enemies, but after enduring the encomienda for about 30 years the Jivaros finally arose in a united revolt which freed them permanently from foreign rule, in spite of the fact that continuous efforts have been made since that time to exploit their territory."

5: Reyes and Teran--63 (No date) 1939 Jivaro
135

"....the Yacuambi, the Bomboiza and the Gualaquiza, carry down a good quantity of gold from the high, cold regions of Matanga or of Shingata. On these streams are the rich placer mining locations which have attracted so many miners to the Oriente Azuayo."

5: Reyes and Teran--107 (No date) 1939 Jivaro
116, 135, 487, 177

"The scarcity and rudimentary state of communication routes has obliged people living in the Ecuadorian Oriente to seek their economic well-being largely through mining rather than through agriculture, in spite of the fertility of these lands. And among the minerals, it is the exploitation of gold which today mainly concerns those [GCB: white men] who venture into these regions. Gold also is the concern of a large number of natives whose labor is exploited by the whites."

5; Reyes and Teran--113 (No date) 1939 Jivaro
116, 135

"Another great potential source of wealth possessed by the Oriente is petroleum."

18: Hermessen--448 (No date) 1917 Jívaro
116, 135, 325

"The Zamora, like all the other rivers coming from the Cordillera Oriental, is auriferous, (32) and the Jíbaros have some idea of gold washing. A few grams of the metal which I got from one of them had been amalgamated, but how I could not discover. Mercury for the purpose may have been obtained from Loja or Gualaquiza, (33) or it may have been found in the alluvial deposits of the region, as it sometimes occurs, in a disseminated state, in such formations. (34)"

"32. Wolf, op. cit., pp. 310 and 597.
33. A town of Oriente inhabited by whites. See inset on map, Fig. 1.
34. Ibid., pp. 253 and 314."

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

INTRODUCTION

Only one tribe of American Indians is known ever to have successfully revolted against the empire of Spain and to have thwarted all subsequent attempts by the Spaniards to reconquer them: the Jívaro (hee'-va-ro), the *untsuri huarä* of eastern Ecuador. From 1599 onward they remained unconquered in their forest fastness east of the Andes, despite the fact that they were known to occupy one of the richest placer gold deposit regions in all of South America.

Tales of their fierceness became part of the folklore of Latin America, and their warlike reputation spread in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when Jívaro "shrunken head" trophies, *tsantsa*, found their way to the markets of exotica in the Western world. As occasional travelers visited them in the first decades of this century, the Jívaro also became known not as just a warlike group, but as an individualistic people intensely jealous of their freedom and unwilling to be subservient to authority, even among themselves. It was this quality that particularly attracted me when I went to study their way of life in 1956–57 and I was most fortunate, at that time, to find, especially east of the Cordillera de Cutucú, a portion of the Jívaro still unconquered and still living, with some changes, their traditional life style. This book is about their culture.

A factor that contributed to my decision to do fieldwork among the Jívaro was the incredible volume of contradictory and often obviously unreliable information on their culture.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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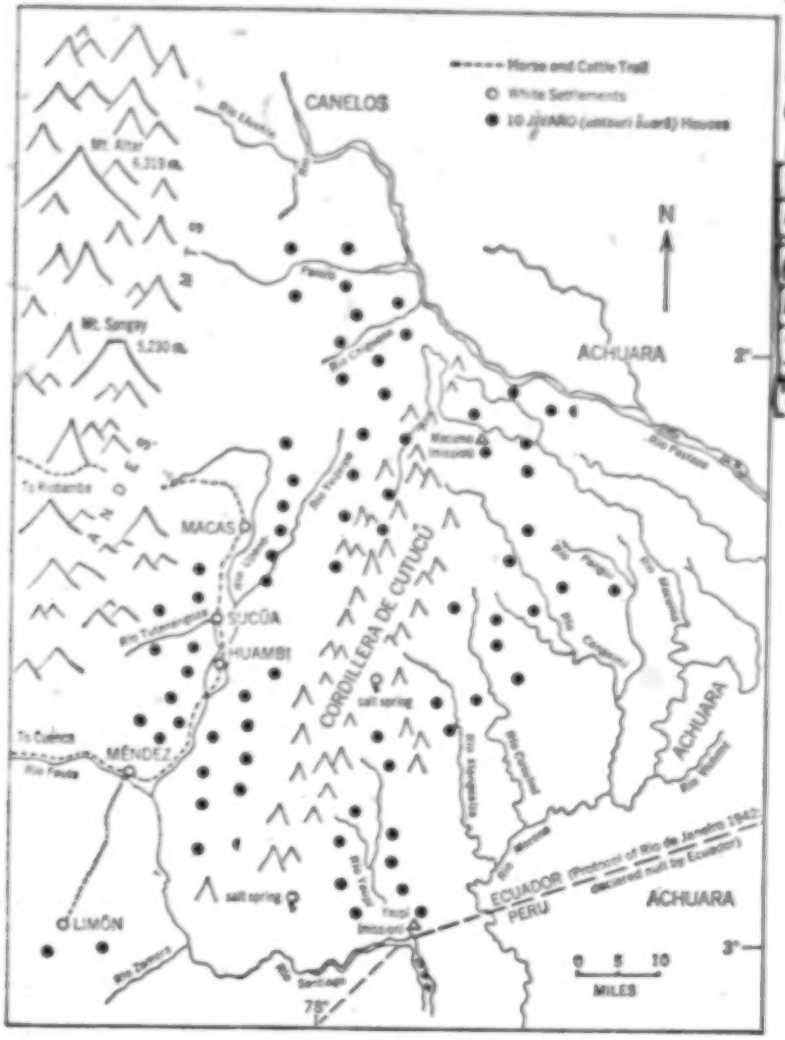
Horse and Cattle Trail
White Settlements
10 JÍVARO (untsuri šuará) Houses
CANELOS
Río Llushín
Mt. Altar
6,319 m.
Mt. Sangay
5,230 m.
Río Pastaza
Río Chambo
Río Patate
Río Culapino
Río Verde
Río Tzamboya
Río Tutunendoa
Río Upano
Río Paute
Río Volado
Río Zamora
Río Santiago
Río Yaupi
Río Cangaime
Río Yuquipa
Río Namangoza
Río Bomboiza
Río Zuna
Río Yuwints
Río Wakis
Río Mazan
Río Tuna
Río Kutukú
Río Cusuimi
Río Kusuimi
Río Wichim
Río Kuchapaka
Río Kuchapaka
Río Kuchapaka

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

highland Ecuadorian groups, such as the Cañari, adjacent to the Jívaro region. Shortly before the arrival of the Spaniards on the Ecuadorian coast in 1527, the Inca emperor, Huayna Capac, led an army to conquer the Jivaroans (probably Jívaro or Aguaruna) inhabiting the region known as "Bracamoros." The invasion, which probably took place in the drainages of the upper Zamora and Chinchipe rivers, was met by such fierce resistance that Huayna Capac had to flee ignominiously back to the Andean highlands, attempting to placate his pursuers with gifts as he retreated. According to one account, he claimed that he would avenge himself on them. According to another version, he explained away his failure by declaring that the inhabitants of Bracamoros were unworthy of being his subjects.[13]

The first reported white penetration of Jívaro territory was made in 1549 by a Spanish expedition commanded by Hernando de Benavente. Probably descending the eastern slopes of the Andes from the headwaters of the Río Upano, Benavente and his men appear to have followed this river southward to its junction with the Río Paute. There they encountered a people living in the "land and province of Xívaro," dwelling in houses scattered more than a league apart. Benavente had planned to establish a town there, but found the Jívaro too hostile and their environment too disagreeable to establish a settlement. He shortly beat a retreat back to the Ecuadorian highlands.[14]

The Viceroy of Peru soon sent a new expedition of colonists, as well as soldiers, into the Jívaro territory. These newcomers engaged in trade with the Indians,[15] made peace pacts with them, and began to exploit the rich placer gold deposits of the Paute, Zamora and Upano rivers and their tributaries. Experiencing great success in their gold mining activities, the Spaniards founded two major communities, de-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

000 dwell south of the present Ecuadorian border, which prevented the author from visiting them and making a field comparison.

[114] The Achuara, whom the author did visit, are frequently confused with the Jivaro in the literature and also are commonly included in the latter term by Ecuadorians who are not familiar with the distinctions between the two tribes or dialect groups. Salient cultural features that distinguish the Achuara from the Jivaro include the following: permanent matrilocality; weaving is done by the women; the women wear a topless skirt rather than a dress over one shoulder; the men's kilt is predominantly white rather than reddish-brown; two doors are commonly located in the women's end of the house; a stockade may be built outside the house in times of heightened hostilities; at other times houses often have no walls at all. The

[171] permanent matrilocality results in household populations considerably in excess of those normally found among the Jivaro, which has contributed to contradictions in the literature by explorers and others who were unaware, in fact, that they were among the Achuara.

[127] 13. Cieza de León, 1943, pp. 295–96; González Suárez, 1890, p. 54. Many of the sources cited by Stirling, 1938, in his compilation of historical materials, are not utilized here because they actually refer to Jivaroan groups other than the Jivaro proper (*untsuri šuarä*).

14. Jiménez de la Espada, 1965, Tomo 4, pp. 174–77.

[231] [235] 15. It was probably at about this time that the Jivaro initially obtained chickens and pigs. The presence of pigs among the Jivaro is first definitely reported in 1683 by Lucero, 1892, p. 37. However, records are so fragmentary that it seems safe to assume that this report could have followed the actual introduction by a century or longer.

[135] 16. Velasco, 1842, p. 151; Lucero, 1892, p. 33. The present writer is inclined to place Sevilla del Oro on the middle Río Upano (the Sucúa-Huambi area), because significant placer gold deposits do not occur on the upper portion of the river and because early reports of its latitude seem more consistent with such a location.

17. Jiménez de la Espada, 1897, p. 45. Translated by the author.

18. Velasco, 1842, p. 153; and n.d., p. 97.

19. Translated by the author from Velasco, 1842, pp. 153–57.

20. Lucero, 1892, p. 34.

21. Accounts of some of these ill-fated attempts may be found in Velasco, n.d., pp. 105–7; 203; 209–10; 286–288; and in Velasco, 1842, pp. 158–60.

22. Jiménez de la Espada, 1897, pp. 43–44.

23. Macabeo oral histories. Cf. also Barrueco, n.d.

24. Oral history provided by elderly Macabeos and Jívaro; Compte, 1885, p. 56; Vacas Galindo, 1895, p. 49; Villavicencio, 1858, pp. 366, 420–21.

25. From oral histories given by elderly Jivaro.

26. E.g., Bollaert, 1863.

27. Anonymous, 1952, p. 30. During the 1870's, the population of Macas was estimated to be 300 (Reiss, 1880, p. 329).